Ladáki men sit cross-legged, but for women it is considered an improper position, so they kneel on one knee and sit on that heel, keeping the other knee erect, or they sit on the calf of the upright leg and tuck the other leg under them; to sit thus is also termed tsong tsong la duk ches. Central Asians consider the Indian attitude indecorous. 516

[152]

STEP-CHILD--máyar poorok. 601

STEP-DAUGHTER--máyarpoorok-i-bómo.

STEP-FATHER--phàyar. Tibetans think that if one father dies, it is good for the children to have a step-father.

STEP-MOTHER--máyar. Step-mothers are looked on with much disfavour.

STEP-SON--máyarpoorok-i-pootsa.

STEWARD--chhakdzot or chaGHzot. The officer in charge of stores. In a monastery he is a great man. But see "Lama." 644 792

[153]STORE-HOUSE--pánga (the underground compartments kept for the storage of grain); dzot (general term). 943

STRAW--sokma or sogma (unchopped); and phugma (chaff-straw broken up by being trodden upon by the animals treading the grain out of the ears). 243

[154]SUFFOCATE TO--khásup táng ches or boksup (or tshupskor) la tang ches (by preventing respiration). Buddhists are not allowed to take life, so when the Tartars of Chángthàng want meat, they tie up an animal's mouth, thus causing it to die of suffocation; or they cause it to fall over a precipice and be killed. The Tartars then eat the flesh with easy consciences. 779 253

[155]SURNAME--Tibetans have no surnames. 551

[156]TABLE--choktsey (general term for the stool-like tables used by Ladákis); ltapchok (about 6 inches high); hlángchok 352

/11/

DROGPA NAMGYAL'S YOUTH

BEFORE BIRTH

The Exorcism of the 100,000 Child Demons

Quietly the village of Kalatse lies yonder in the Ladakh highland, deeply imbedded between two enormous mountain ridges of the Western Himalayas. Not far away is the Indus which, still a cascading mountain river here, flows by in a deeply cut-out gorge. The village forms a lovely oasis with luxuriant wheat and barley fields, blooming apricot groves in the midst of towering mountain giants, desolate, projecting rock walls and steep declivities formed by deposits. Quietly the fields and the mountains lie there. The only sounds that strike our ear are the rushing of the nearby mountain river in the gorge and the call of the horse drivers who are transporting on the road along the Indus the trading goods of the Indian merchants. Heavily loaded beasts of burden are carrying these goods to the market of the main town of the area, Leh. There is also the monotonous singing of the women who are watering their field terraces over there. Otherwise everything is still. Through the dormer windows in the roofs of the white-washed houses of the Tibetans the smoke rises up to the blue, cloudless sky. Judging by the position of the sun it is about two o'clock in the afternoon, the time at which the Tibetan goes from the field to his house, when the midday soup is cooked and "drunk" and everybody takes an hour of rest and relaxation.

Only in the Dragshos house (1), the house of Lobsang Wanggyal,

1. "Dragshos" is here the name of the house and at the same time the designation of the tribe, the family of the house-owner. Every house in Tibet, and thus also in Ladakh, has its own name by which the present owner can likewise be called. Often the name of the house is prefixed to the name of any one of the members of the family so that the frequently recurring personal names such as "Trashi," "Tsering," "Lobsang," and so forth, can be distinguished from each other. In contrast to the limited number of personal names, which usually have a religious significance, the house names display a great multiplicity. There we have a Cloverfield (Ol-t'an-pa), Oilman (sNum-pa), Cook (Soldpon), Stablemaster (C'ibs-dpon),

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551 Ambassador (P'o-nya), and Castlecaptain (K'ar-dpon), the four latter all being titles from the time of the kingdom; furthermore there are animal names like Fox (Wa-tse-pa), Wolf (Śaṅ-ku-pa); finally there are nicknames such as the Chewing-one (K'a-ldags-pa), Break-leg (rKaṅ-cags-pa), Break-skull (mGo-cags-pa), the Thrown-out-one (P'ar-la-p'an), Thief's-son (rKu-p'rug), Cat's-mouth (Bi-la-k'a), Liar (Dzun-can), and other in part insulting names.

789 which stands there at the foot of the steep cliff below the old castle ruin on the rocky floor of the valley closely nestled in a group of houses, there is lively activity even now during the hot, muggy afternoon. There is the hollow murmur from the rough throats of men, which occasionally /12/ swells to great strength; in between there can be heard dissonant and deep blasts of trumpets and the beating of drums. Five lamas (Buddhist monks) in red cowls from the nearby monastery Lamayuru are crouched there in the large living room-kitchen of the house with their legs folded under them on rough carpets made of goats' hair. In front of each one of them, on small tables no higher than a footstool and carved with beautiful designs, there are two piles of loose leaves which belong to a book. They are all reading at one and the same time in a loud, grating voice, each one from the leaf which happens to be lying in front of him. When a leaf is finished, it is placed on the pile of leaves that have been read. The leaves made of Tibetan paper were once grey. Now the paper is covered with a blackish layer gleaming with fat, especially in those places where they have come into contact with the lamas' fingers.

With the wild confusion of everybody reading at the same time it is impossible for us to make rhyme or reason of what is being read. Only here and there does our ear catch a few words: "Jis don bum (Tibetan: byis gdon abum)," "The 100,000 child demons!" Then we can make out here and there a few mysterious Sanskrit formulas and syllables, "Om! Hum! Shri!" Magical formulas, powerful exorcising words, partly in Tibetan, and partly in the old sacred Sanskrit language.

It is out of the question that the inhabitants of the house might be listening attentively. How would they ever be able to understand this babel of voices, after all? The evil spirits for whom these phrases of exorcism are designed will undoubtedly make some sense of them and feel their effect, so they think. They themselves go quietly about

553 792 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 177 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

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A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

Lobsang Wanggyal, as the pious Buddhist he is, first performs another prayer before the image of Gautama Buddha and of the "Great Merciful One," Chanrezig, and donates five sacrificial lamps with the necessary butter (instead of oil). Then he set out on his way to Leh which he reached after an hour on horseback. There he sold his apricots in the bazaar (market) and exchanged barley for them; aside from various necessary things he also bought for himself a shining green cap and a colored sash; for his wife he bought a pair of large turquoises, and for the cap of his little son a small silver amulet. After three days he rode homeward again from the barren, rough highlands to the milder, more fertile lower Ladakh and, upon his arrival in Kalatse, he announced to wife and mother that his son was to be called Drogpa Namgyal. His mother, old Tsering Putrid, drew up her nose a little bit at the "Drogpa," but against the word of the great skushog there was no contradiction possible, and besides, one could never know what the evil Tsan and Lu demons still had in store for them. Her "deceased" (13) (gśin-po) had also had a protective name.

13. The relatives of a recently deceased person anxiously shy away from naming the latter by his name in the superstitious fear the dead person might be disturbed and would frighten the survivors.

He had been called Garra /25/ Lobsang (smith, equivalent to "good sense"), and he had been such a pious Buddhist; all the pilgrimages he had made, the holy places he had circled around, and how he had turned the prayer wheel! And yet he had been abruptly taken away by the emissary of death (t'se-len); an avalanche of rocks had dragged him along as he was climbing a wall of boulders in order to rescue a goat which had gone astray. He had been found down below with his limbs shattered. True, the lamas had said that he had only himself to blame. After all, they had warned him to let the goat go, for just above that particular slope the Tsan-demons had settled in the rocks at that time. They, the lamas, knew this from unmistakable signs. Why did the man have to climb up just there and provoke the Tsan by his appearance!

372 because the latter had several times gone out without the tsepo (the
415 little carrying basket woven with straw) on her back. The old woman said that only shemas (noble women) or slovenly females did such things. Going out without a tsepo was useless because one missed the fine opportunity for collecting dung. Namgyal (14) enjoyed gathering

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14. From now on the relatives call the boy mostly only by his second name "Namgyal" omitting, as a rule, the ugly protective name "Drogpa," except on occasions when they again want to frighten threatening spirits with the name, or when they want to differentiate namesakes.

wood because it gave him the opportunity to wander through mountain
231 and valley. But it was a particular delight to him to drive the herd
476 of sheep and goats of the village into the mountains with his father or uncle or later with an older companion, whenever it was the turn of the Dragshos house to tend the village herd. They would get under way as soon as the sun had gone up over the double cone of the Bragnuma. His mother would give the boy a sizable /35/ lump of kollag (a lump of roasted barley flour kneaded into a firm dough with tea or beer) to take along, which the boy would bind, wrapped in a cloth, inside his long waist-belt or sash. Everyone would take a sturdy stick into his hand, Namgyal would also tie his slingshot inside his sash, and then they would go up into the mountains.

First their own herd of about 50 sheep and goats is driven out of the narrow, dark stable. Then they go along the twisting village street and at every courtyard another small herd joins them, in the case of the small farmers consisting of only five to six animals, until the entire village herd is together. They turn into a side valley,
231 slowly driving the herd on through loud shouts, as well as luring it on, and there the young herders lead it along the brook where the animals line up in rows to take their morning drink. Until evening there is then usually not a drop to drink in this wilderness. If a wayward goat (15) should decide to move too far away from the rest of the

15. The Tibetan goat which is often falsely designated as a "Kashmir goat," is a small, extremely agile and very easily satisfied animal which climbs with the adroitness of a chamois. It supplies the fine wool which in Kashmir is worked into the famous shawls and similar fine woven products.

himself on this point. And what a picture there lay before his view spread out on these heights, a picture of tremendous, wild beauty! Over valleys, gorges and crevices, wildly jagged mountain chains and ridges, the vista sweeps along to the distant mountain faces yonder in the west, which shine in all colors from bright red to violet in the clear, glaring sunshine of these heights with their thin, dry air. Over there to the right there is a very extensive snow field whose melting water the brook carries down into the valley. To the left there are two mountain peaks crowned with glaciers. Over it all there is the arch of the deep blue, cloudless sky. A wonderful silence prevails in this wild mountain world into which Namgyal drove his herd, a silence which is only now and then interrupted by the bleating of a goat, the scream of the chough among the cliffs, the howling of a wolf yonder by the slope of the mountain.

/39/ No person can escape the stupendous impression of the majesty of this world of mountains; here live and rule supernatural powers; here divinity approaches directly the feeble man who penetrates into this empire; it lives in the towering cliff, in the glacier which on the heights embraces the tremendous mountain caps in its clutch, in the plant which grows forth from the cracks in the rock; the deity speaks from the brook which cleaves its roaring way through the rocky wall; it speaks from the tempestuous south wind which sweeps howling into the valley from the high mountains, as well as from the avalanche of rocks which looses itself from the precipice and roars thundering into the depths below.

Namgyal's receptive spirit could not possibly avoid these impressions. He was a plucky boy, a courageous climber and rider. Because of his courage in the brawls with his companions the latter had given him the nickname "Jigsmed" (Without-fear).

During the day the boy wandered through the mountains and the valleys without apprehension in spite of the wolves who are present everywhere, whenever it was necessary to look for a lost sheep. But when dusk settled down on the series of chasms and dark shadows spread out over mountain and slopes, our "Without-fear" was overcome by a secret terror. Then the jagged rocks and peaks turned into a thousand shapes which stretched their arms threateningly at him, and at this time voices became loud which had been silent during the day. From the plateau yonder he could hear the howling of the wolves, in the ravine there to the left a fox was barking, over there from the old ruin of the Darden castle there resounded the call of the screech owl, and sounds

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 27. GENEALOGY OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'ho*

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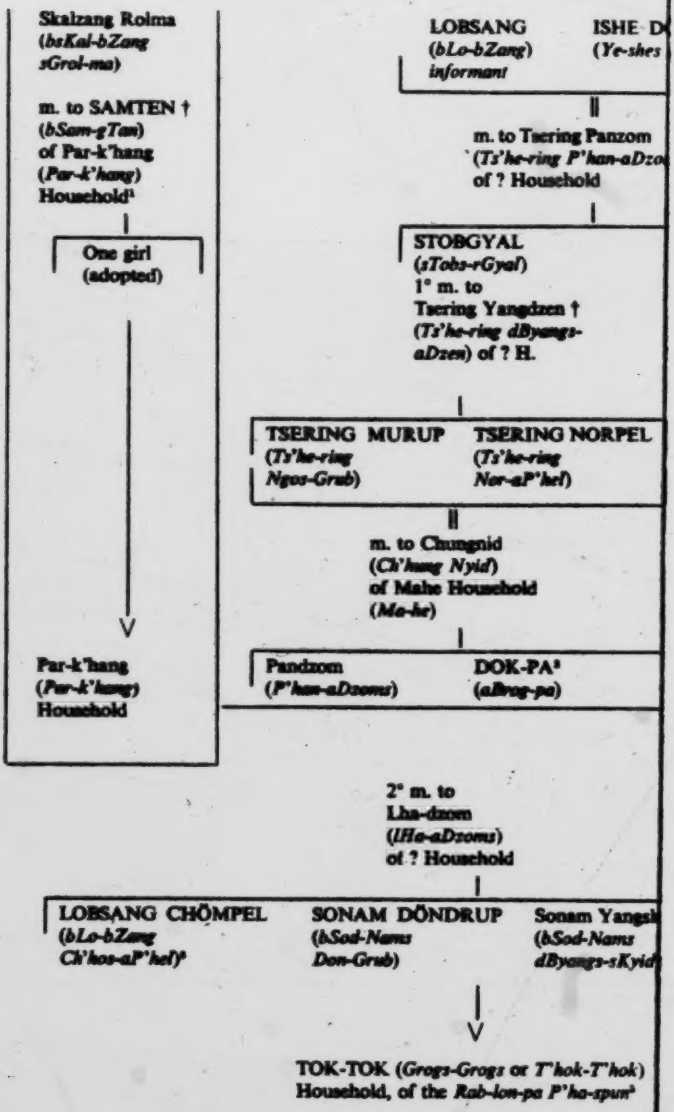


[1] Skalzang Rolma is a widow and owns her late husband's house for the time being. She ha this child will inherit the Par-k'hang Household at the death of her mother by adoption, comes first.

[2] This little boy has no real name yet; the one he bears means "nomad" and has been given to He is a Gelug-pa lama, and lives in Lhasa.

[4] This little boy has also been given a provisional name, as above, for the same reason; (*aBrog-mo*) alternatively, meaning "female nomad".

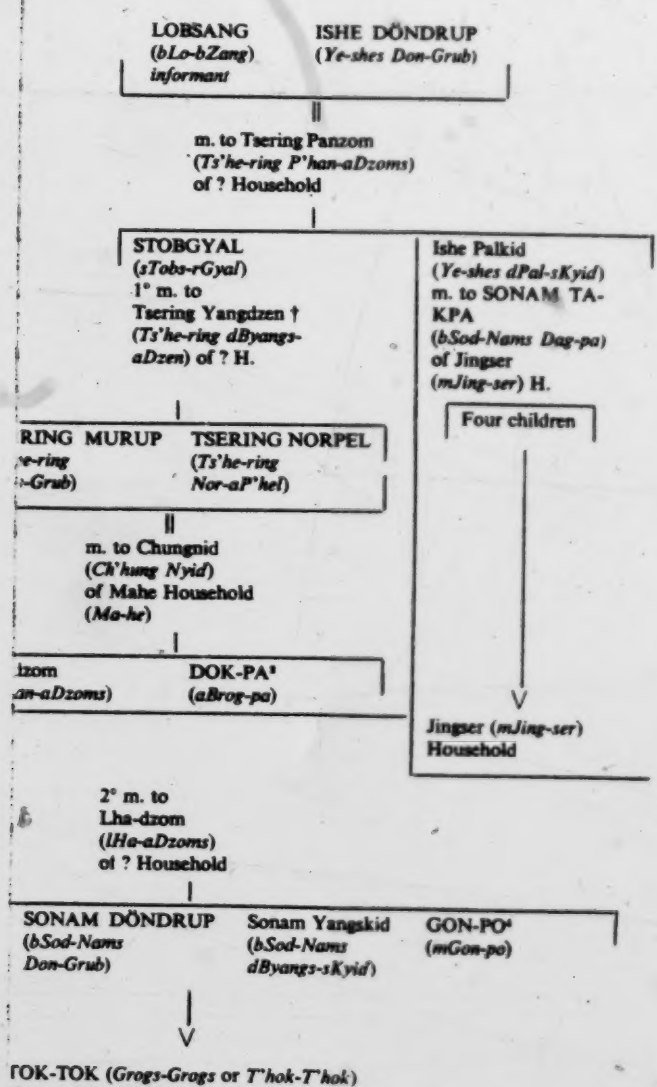
[5] See list of Ladak *P'ho-spuns*.

Capital letters denote males. Small characters are women. † = dead. m. = married. H. =

[facing P. 360-A]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

OF TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*) HOUSEHOLD. 595 601



TOK-TOK (*Grogs-Grogs* or *T'hok-T'hok*)
Household, of the *Rab-ion-pa P'ha-spun*[b]

husband's house for the time being. She has adopted a little girl relative of her husband and d at the death of her mother by adoption, or when she herself marries a *mag-pa*, whichever

ars means "nomad" and has been given to him provisionally to avert the evil eye from him. [154]

al name, as above, for the same reason; it means "protector". He is also called Dok-mo [551]
ad".

women. † = dead. m. = married. H. = Household

[facing p. 360-B]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

TABLE 34. GENEALOGY OF TSONG-K'HAR-PA (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*)

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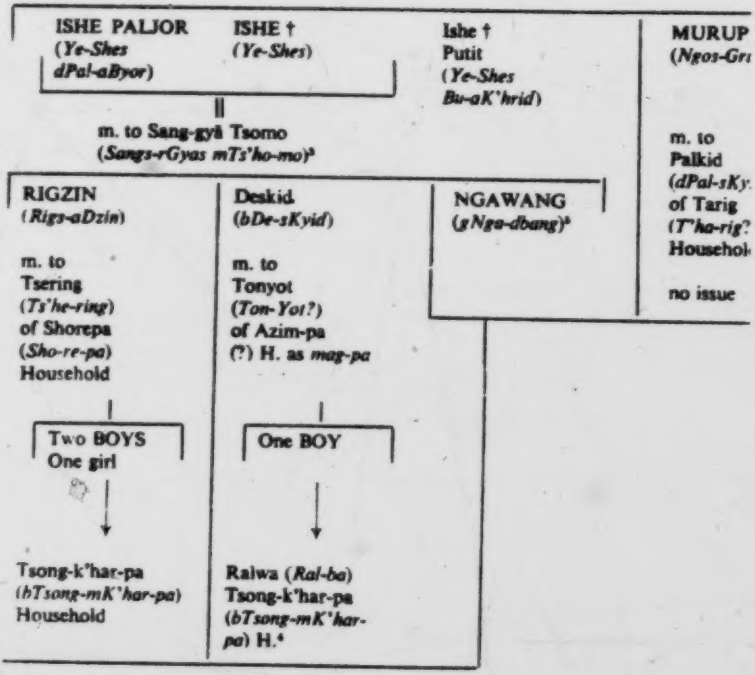

●[551]

[a] "Little Tsong king", obviously a nickname with a Moslem connotation (Malik = Arabic for "king").

[b] Dondrup received the Bata household, as all his mother's brothers died without heirs.

[c] She was a Moslem, but changed religion and name to marry her husband.

Conventional signs as in Table 27.

[facing P. 372-A]

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Ladak

Tsong-mK'har-pa) HOUSEHOLD.

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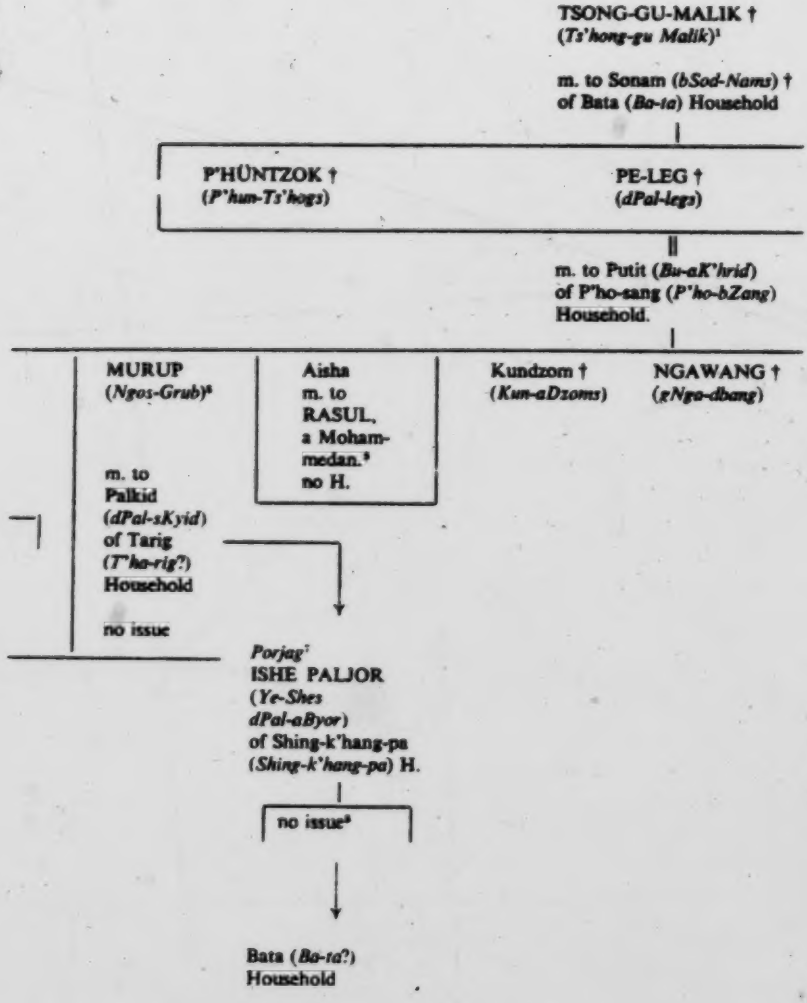
[551]



otation (Malik =

ers died without

husband.

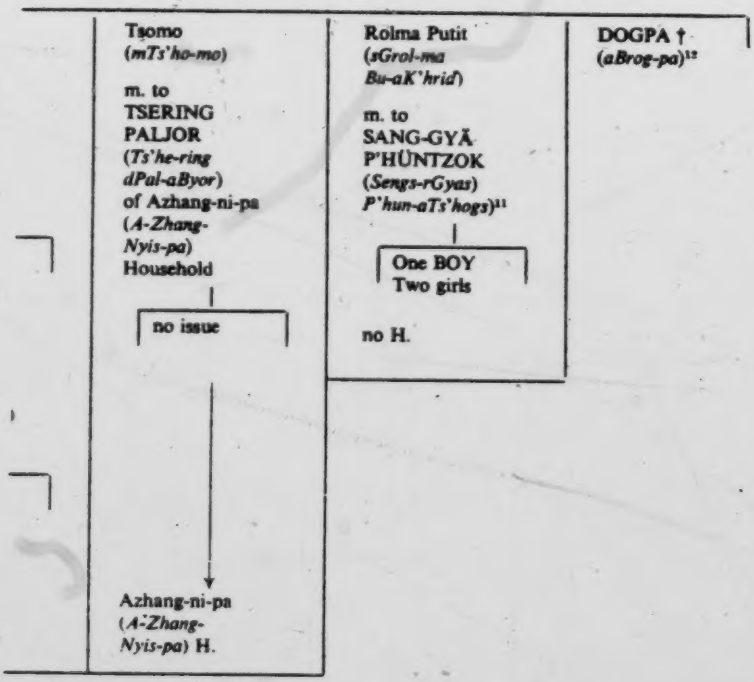
[1] Deskid was a tenant without occupation on some land *mag-pa* ad founded the Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa H.

[3] He is a lama at Himis gompa.

[4] Murup received the Bata H. and continued it, while Ishe the Tsong-k'har-pa Household.

[facing P. 392-B]

595
601



[7] *Porjag* taken after 20 years of childless marriage.
[8] Childless still after 4 years could adopt a child.
[9] Moslem name as married a Moslem.
[10] Same name as earlier dead girl in commemoration.
[11] Moh. convert to Budh. Is now manager of Himis gompa.
[12] No name: this one against the evil eye (means "nomad").

[facing P. 372-D]

[551]
[NSA]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 852 [604] [292] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do